# UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

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*Editors*

John Haynes Holmes  Francis Neilson

# Has the League of Nations Outlawed War?

*By* JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

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# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1924 NUMBER 8

# Has the League of Nations Outlawed War?

The action of the League of Nations in adopting on October 2nd, the so-called "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," and therewith recommending it for ratification to the several governments, has aroused earnest and widespread discussion. It has also stirred up new faith in the efficacy of the League as an agency for peace, and created the genuine belief that a way has at last been found for getting rid of war. More specifically is it asserted that the plan for the Outlawry of War has found sudden and unexpected acceptance at Geneva. The purpose of the Protocol, says its author, M. Benes, premier of Czecho-Slovakia, is "to make war impossible. It prohibits wars of every description, and lays down the rule that all disputes shall be settled by peaceful means." Studying the Protocol sympathetically and yet dispassionately, the "New Republic" affirms the same thing; and Professor Manley Hudson, in a notable article in the New York "World," hails the document as a platform upon which League and Outlawry advocates can at last unite. Accepting this interpretation of the Protocol, M. Briand, former premier of France, declares it to be "the most formidable obstacle to war ever devised by the human mind."

We have refrained from discussing this important matter until we could see and study the full draft of the Protocol. This was published in the "New York Times" on October 11th, under the significant title, "Complete Text of the Protocol to Outlaw War." We have read and pondered this carefully, and have found our opinion of it. We do not think that this opinion is important, as we cannot even pretend to be an expert in this field. Neither do we think that the document as approved by the League of Nations Assembly is important, since we agree, however, regretfully, with the editors of the "Christian Century" (October 16, page 1323), that "candor and fairness require us to say . . . that we neither expect nor hope for the acceptance of the Geneva Protocol by the nations of the world." But the subject has attracted wide attention, is certain to be under earnest discussion this coming winter, and will unquestionably be used persistently by champions of the League of Nations as one more and the latest argument for America's joining that organization. Furthermore, it is bound to spread confusion on the Outlawry issue, unless speedily cleared up. So we set down our judgment here, as one interested supremely in Outlawry as the way to peace, that there may be no question as to where we stand, and why.

First of all it is to be recognized, in all fairness, that the Protocol represents a great advance over anything that has been done or attempted hitherto by the League of Nations for the ending of war and the establishing of peace. Furthermore, it marks an advance over anything hitherto conceived by the pacifist forces of the world. For the first time we find the concept of war as "an international crime" written into the official vocabulary of international thought, and a definite mechanism set up for dealing with war and its makers from this standpoint of "crime." This opens up a new chapter in the history of peace. It is the first fruits of the Levinson-Borah program for the Outlawry of War. But it falls far short of that program—indeed, as a matter of fact, does not exist in the same world with it at all; and it would be a fatal mistake for anybody to accept the one as a substitute for the other.

In order that we may state our thought in as simple and clear a way as possible, we enumerate herewith the merits and defects, the things we like and the things we don't like, plus and minus, in this Geneva Protocol.

PLUS

(1) We count it a mighty achievement that the Protocol undertakes to establish compulsory arbitration of disputes between nations—

> The signatory states undertake to recognize as compulsory, IPSO FACTO AND WITHOUT SPECIAL AGREEMENT, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. . . .

This marks a tremendous step forward. Hitherto international arbitration has been made of none effect, as in the case of the Permanent Court at this moment, by leaving it to the voluntary discretion of the disputing nations as to whether they should come into court or not. Furthermore, the principle of arbitration has invariably in the past been hedged about with all manner of restrictions and reservations as to the character of the questions to be submitted to arbitration. Those questions likely to lead to war—such as questions of honor, national interest, etc.—have been just the ones excluded from the operation of the arbitration principle, and thus the principle itself made ridiculous. But here, in the Protocol, we enter a different climate. For the first time we have an attempt to give the Court affirmative jurisdiction, in its own right, over ALL disputes between nations. This is something like! We get somewhere when it is definitely agreed that a dispute, just because it is a dispute, shall be settled by a judicial process and not in any case by arms.

(2) The Protocol makes a useful and, we think, permanent contribution to the settlement of the war problem by laying down a workable and precise definition of what constitutes an aggressor in war. Every peace plan, of course, reserves to a nation under attack the right of self-defense, just as every code of statute law reserves to the individual citizen a similar right. A war of self-defense in other words, must under any international arrangement

be regarded as right and proper. But what IS a war of self-defense? Why, a war against an aggressor nation! But what IS an aggressor nation? It is our failure to answer this question that has left the door to war wide open. No nation in modern times ever attacks; every nation invariably fights in self-defense. Hence our inability to accomplish anything, unless we can find a way to say, in each and every case of hostilities, that this nation here is the aggressor, and this other nation over here the defender!

Now it is just this all-important thing that is accomplished by the Protocol, thanks to the establishment of the principle of compulsory arbitration. "Every state which resorts to war," says the Protocol, in Article 10, "in violation of the undertakings contained in the covenant or in the present protocol, is an aggressor." It further defines this provision by declaring that "any state shall be presumed to be an aggressor.....if it has refused to submit the dispute to the procedure of pacific settlement," or if it violates "provisional measures enjoined by the Council for the period while the proceedings are in progress." Furthermore, it is stipulated that, if there is any question under these provisions, the Council must "enjoin upon the belligerents an armistice," and that any belligerent refusing to accept this armistice or violating its terms, "shall be deemed an aggressor." These conditions are perfectly simple, and effective. If any nation declines to submit its dispute to the Court for settlement, or declines to accept the judgment of the Court, or disturbs or violates the process of finding judgment, it shall be declared to be the aggressor. This clears the air. If war comes in the future, under any such arrangement as this, the world will know who is responsible!

(3) The Protocol is praiseworthy as attempting to create interest in and action toward disarmament. Personally we believe that armaments are quite as much the consequence as the cause of the war status. Outlaw war effectively, and armies and navies will disappear of themselves. None the less, we welcome any move at any time in any way to the end of abolishing or even lessening in any measure the burden of competitive armaments. Thus do we count it a heartening sign that this Protocol summons "an international conference for the reduction of armaments which shall be convened by the Council (of the League) and shall meet at Geneva on Monday, June 15, 1925." This conference cannot be convened unless "a majority of the permanent members of the Council and ten other members of the League" ratify the Protocol. But the stage is set, and the invitations offered. Whether anything comes of it or not, disarmament is henceforth on the agenda of the deliberations of the race until it is achieved.

So much for the PLUS side of the Protocol! Now for the

MINUS

(1) First and foremost, it is to be emphasized that the Protocol, whatever its superficial appearance, is not as a matter of fact a scheme to outlaw war at all. Mr. S. O. Levinson, the originator of the Outlawry program, has summed it all up in the statement that the "new League Protocol conforms to diplomatic orthodoxy by using the soft glove of Outlawry promise to conceal its iron hand of world control by force.....The Protocol at best is a scheme to outlaw war with war."

The summoning of the disarmament conference, admirable enough in itself as a gesture and a hope, shows the real purpose of the Protocol. Its authors are acting upon the theory that arms are the cause of war, instead of war or the prospect of war being the cause of arms. Desiring to get rid of armaments, much as a physician might desire to get rid of a rash by scraping it off the surface of the skin instead of purifying the blood which feeds the skin, the League statesmen try to create a condition which will persuade the nations to disarm. This condition they estimate in terms of security—the old-fashioned notion of preponderance of power. This power, of course, is not going to be used unless necessary, it is not going to be used against any but an aggressor nation, etc., etc. But it is going to be USED—just as it was used by the Entente against Germany in 1914. In other words, the makers are not thinking of Outlawry at all. If they describe war as "an international crime," it is only as the action of Germany in 1914, as contrasted with the action of the Allies, was deemed a crime. Security, we repeat, and such disarmament as reasonable security will permit, are the objectives. Outlawry, if accepted at all, is incidental—a means and not an end. There is much truth in the verdict of the "Christian Century" (October 2, page 1265), that "the effect of all this maneuvering is to get France precisely what she desired of Mr. Wilson in 1919, and has bent her energies toward ever since—a military alliance in fulfillment of the Treaty of Versailles." This becomes especially pertinent when it is remembered that the Protocol is hitched up to the League, just as the League is hitched up to the Versailles Treaty.

**"The obvious expectancy is" in the opinion of the "Christian Century," in which we concur, "that whatever aggression arises will be over some feature of the Treaty. As an aggressor becomes at once 'outlawed,' it is clear that France expects to have the nations, through the League or otherwise, guarantee the fulfillment of the Treaty against any nation that attempts to get by force any relief from its provisions."**

(2) The justice of the plea that the Protocol does not outlaw war is made perfectly plain when we see, for our next and more specific point, that there is no attempt in the Protocol to establish law in place of war, to substitute the institution of legal justice for the institution of arms.

The one talisman of Outlawry is the recognition of this principle of LAW—a code by which the affairs of nations shall be governed as the affairs of individuals are governed in the state. All the Protocol does is to establish and extend the principle of arbitration. But arbitration is not law! We do not arbitrate a question of murder, or burglary, or arson, or assault and battery. Two states of the United States, when they have a dispute, or are involved in a charge of injury one against another, do not appeal to arbitration. In the case of outrages against individuals as of quarrels between states, we have the sovereign law under which charges are made and answered, and decisions rendered by judicial tribunals and established as precedents in law for future guidance. Arbitration is appealed to only in the absence of law and courts, as in the industrial field, and is only a more or less unsatisfactory device for keeping the peace until law can be established. It is this which the Protocol relies upon for the safeguarding of the world. And it calls this Outlawry! How can it be Outlawry, when there exists no law, from which the offender can be banished, no law by which his offence can be determined and punished? The thing is absurd upon the face of it. Arbitration as a means of tempering the war system—of restricting the number of its disputes, the scope of its operations, the menace of its presence—this is all very well. But implicit in it is the recognition of the war system itself. If war were outlawed, there were no need of arbitration!

Let it be repeated, so that there may be no further doubt upon this question, that Outlawry has its beginning, as the condition of its very life, in a code of law, administered and interpreted by a court, the primal provision of which is an

absolute ban upon resort to arms. The Constitution of the United States and the Supreme Court, with its power of absolute jurisdiction under the Constitution over disputes between states, which are themselves denied the right to go to war, is the precise pattern of what is meant by Outlawry.

(3) Our verdict is still further confirmed by the fact that the Protocol contemplates no abandonment of force at all. On the contrary it provides for a massing of force on a more universal, and incidentally less competitive, scale than ever before. What we have in the Protocol is simply an extension of Articles 10 and 16 of the original League Covenant, which themselves wrote the dread law of force into the proposed government of the world, and an extension also of Article 11 as giving unlimited jurisdiction to the Council, in which the great powers are absolute. All the sanctions of the Protocol, in other words, are the sanctions of arms controlled and directed in protection of their own predominant interests by the great military empires of the world. Which means that we get rid of war only to get in its stead not peace but super-war! The place of the Council of the League in this whole Protocol arrangement cannot be over-emphasized. In a world patterned on the iniquitous settlements of the Versailles Treaty, itself a mere alliance of the victors in the late war, it is given the rank of arbiter of world-destiny for all time on the frank basis of overwhelming force. We may be simple in mental faculty, perhaps biased in feeling, but we have to confess all the same that war is to our vision WAR, even when fought by the military machine of the League against a so-called "aggressor" nation. The task before us is to get rid of the war principle, the war institution, altogether. The Protocol lifts the institution from the control of nations to the control of the League. The Outlawry program would abolish it altogether.

Such is the summary, PRO and CON, of the significance of the Genevan Protocol. This instrument improves in certain duly noted particulars upon all devices hitherto attempted for the establishment of peace. We would not have these gains ignored or forgotten. The extension of arbitration along absolute and universal lines marks a new level of achievement in pacifist thought. The definition of aggression is a priceless contribution to effective pacifist action. The proposal of a disarmament conference is a welcome suggestion, to be supported vigorously by pacifist opinion; to get the nations together to discuss the laying down of arms can under no conditions do harm, and may do much good. But what we need in all matters of this kind is clarity of thought, precision of definition. The Protocol, excellent as it is in certain details, is in its whole philosophy fundamentally fallacious. Its devices, like all the devices which have preceded it in other similar programs, are defective. They get us nowhither, for the reason that they are built on false premises. What we need is not a further limitation of the war system, a closer control of it by certain inside groups, but a rejection of it altogether. This the Protocol, in spite of all its fine phrases, DOES NOT DO.

The Outlawry of War advocates have no intention of being deceived by this latest move. It is not that they are stubborn in the demand that their scheme and no other be accepted. It is simply that they insist that the house of international peace be built upon the rock and not upon the sand.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

# Religion and Science

## A Psychological Interpretation

### Religious Attitudes

Our task now is to briefly describe some of the typical religious attitudes; to show that they are at the very heart of religious experience; and to maintain the thesis that where these attitudes exist, there religion is. There will be no attempt at an exhaustive treatment of any one of these attitudes, nor any attempt to formulate a complete list of them. The purpose of this part of the study is to merely suggest a method of interpretation which rests upon subjective grounds, rather than upon the objects around which so much religious activity centers.

The first of these attitudes which seem to be essential to genuine religious life is worship, found in primitive man and in modern man, in Buddhist as well as in Christian. It is characteristic of some of the lowest forms of religion such as fetichism which cannot be classed among the theistic faiths; it becomes one of the most important and highly valued aspects of the great ethnic religions when they are at the height of their development; it is characteristic of many of those who believe they have gone beyond churches and theological systems and belief in God, yet who retain the reverential spirit, and the devotional outlook upon life. It is not dependent upon God, idol, universal spirit, or any other single objective reality. It may express itself in multitudinous ways, and refer to a great variety of objects, but psychologically, worship is one under its multiplicity of forms. It is more universal than any other aspect of the religious life and is at the very heart of true religious experience.

Worship may be described as an outgoing of our psychic energy toward that which is larger and higher than ourselves; it is an attempt to tune our own lives into harmony with this something beyond and above, so that the worshipper establishes a communion (common union); it induces an emotion of reverence and humility, or of uplift and enlargement.

Worship expresses one of the deepest needs of human personality—a need of adjustment to the total environment. We never understand the nature of the universe which surrounds us. We are unable to work out a comprehensive philosophy of life with an adequate analysis and clear insight into its multitudinous problems and perplexing doubts. Science attempts, and partially succeeds, but largely fails. But worship gives us an emotional adaptation. Without understanding, we can be put emotionally *en rapport* with life. We can and do appropriate it to ourselves, and

use it even if we do not understand it. Worship brings the universe, or some aspect of it, near to us, ascribes to it those qualities which are highest in ourselves and thus makes the universe liveable. Worship helps us to achieve unification. It turns an unfriendly or mysterious world into an ally. It lifts us out of our isolation and fear and weakness into a state of mind where we can face the complexities and conflicts with re-enforcements. It gives us praise. To use the beautiful phrase of Whittier, it "reclothes us in our rightful mind," if by rightful we mean that condition which helps us to become adjusted to life.

Man is the only creature who consciously inhabits a *universe*. The moon affects the tide of thought as well as tides of the sea and the farthermost star is reflected as brightly in a soul as in a windless mountain lake. A man towers above clouds and his hopes fly higher than eagles. When a man worships, he ascends to his zenith, but the infinite bends down and becomes his friend. Communication is established between the self and sublimity. In the inspired words of Thoreau:

> I hearing get, who had but ears,
> And sight, who had but eyes before,
> I moments live, who lived but years,
> And truth discern, who knew but learning's lore.

It is ovious that in all such religious experiences we are dealing with attitudes, and not beliefs in objects. The subjective experience is as rich and rewarding whether we worship the sun, the wind, a pile of stones, God or the Unknown. Prayer to a "heathen idol" made of clay, is as effective as the prayer of a Mohammedan to Allah or of a Christian to God, if the attitude is as worshipful, and if the individual imputes to the idol the highest characteristics. This statement will, of course, be denied by those who define religion in terms of the objective, and who, therefore, insist that it is God, out there in the universe, who answers the prayer. But psychologists have tested this matter to their own satisfaction, at least, by a variety of experiments; and they find that any person can derive the sense of peace, feel an access of strength, or can be lifted into a state of inspiration by worshipping any one of several gods or systems. Prof. Coe in his "Psychology of Religion" quotes concrete examples and seems to establish the fact.

This does not mean that we have now proved that no God exists, or that it is just as well to worship Baal as Yaweh. Such a deduction would clearly be a *non-sequitur*. For we tend to grow into the likeness of the qualities which we admire.

> Still through our paltry stir and strife,
> Glows down the wished Ideal,
> And longing moulds in clay what Life
> Carves in the marble Real.

So it does make a difference whether we worship "a hank of hair," a Moloch, or Creative Evolution. Indifferentism which is sometimes mistaken for liberalism, would say all religions are good and therefore every man should worship according to his own private conscience. This is as great a mistake as to dogmatically say that my worship is the only true one and that all must conform to me. There is a higher and lower in worship both spiritually and socially considered. The problem both for the individual and for society is to find those forms of worship which are best fitted to the various temperaments and situations.

And further, this experiment in psychology does not disprove the objective reality of God. It does not purpose to do so, and they who misinterpret its meaning, are simply drawing conclusions which are not warranted. The experiment merely goes to show what it intends to show, namely, that man may derive similar spiritual benefits by worshipping though the objects of worship be various. Worship is an experience which is its own excuse for being. It is valid in and of itself.

Herbert Spencer used to berate those who insisted upon defining the undefinable and describing in great detail the unknowable. He said, "Shall we call this reverence? Or shall we call it the reverse?" "And yet this transcendent audacity, which thinks to penetrate the secrets of the Powers manifested through all existence—nay, even to stand behind that Power and note the conditions to its action—this it is which passes current as piety!" Most modern psychologists would agree with Spencer that this insistence upon definition of the infinite is far less religious than the attitude of worship which does not attempt to define, but which habitually reverences all high and holy Powers, Presences, and Influences. With that true insight for which he was noted, Spencer goes on to say:

> Very likely there will ever remain a need to give shape to that indefinite sense of an Ultimate Existence, which forms the basis of our intelligence. We shall always be under the necessity of contemplating it as *some* mode of being; that is, of representing it to ourselves in *some* form of thought, however vague. And we shall not err in doing this so long as we treat every notion we thus frame as merely a symbol.

Here is exactly what the modern psychologist would say, that nearly all religious ideas are symbols, that we are led to the use of them by some inner motivation not yet wholly understood, and that, therefore, the symbolism itself is but the outward sign of that which is inner and urgent. It is in the subjective realm, therefore, where the fundamental drive is to be found, and the symbol or definition is important to us only as an indication of the existence of the impulses and attitudes from which religion arises.

Another aspect of worship is illustrated by the famous saying of Ruskin, "Every picture should have an escape into the infinite." If this is true of a picture how much more true is it of man. The constitution of a man requires that he have windows open on all sides, providing some vista of the Beyond, so that he may gain a sense of preparation in his own life, and be able to look away from the evils and sins which beset him. Emerson sensed this aspect when he wrote "It is certain that worship stands in some commanding relation to the health of man and to his highest powers." We

are but beginning now to see that this is literally true and to see how much man needs worship in order that he may be physically and mentally sound.

There may be a few persons, who, like Whitman, can turn and live with the cows, because they are not everlastingly whining about their sins; but for most men, the consciousness of sin is the price paid for being human. Man sets himself high ideals of character, he achieves certain standards of social conduct, but he also feels the imperious impulses of the lower animal constantly threatening his ideals. And thus he is constantly torn apart, his moral and emotional life being the protagonists of a drama of tragic conflict. Spiritual fatigue soon follows, and neuroses or psychoses frequently develop. A physician's appreciation of the therapeutic value of worship is well expressed in Richard C. Cabot's volume "What Men Live By." He says that when "the tension between what we are and what we seem has grown intolerable," then worship under its various forms leads us to harmony "not only with the better part of our own selves, not only with the quite fallible and temporary institutions of society, but with the bottom principle of things."

Worship enables us to escape these strains, this sense of incompleteness, these conflicts, because a whole souled devotion and reverence to that which is highest, integrates us on a higher plane. It is an escape and yet a discovery. It is wholesome because it makes us whole.

Saul of Tarsus is an interesting and familiar example of the strain produced by inner conflict, and his gospel is full of the evidences of it. But Paul found a solution in the integration which comes from the worship and reverence of something which according to his own interpretation is perfect, which has the power to transform the old man into the new. He succeeded in utterly losing himself in worship of an ideal which in this instance, was Jesus. For him to live was Christ, to die was gain. Here we have complete surrender to a higher will, a tremendous enthusiasm for the good which took Saul out of himself, integrated the warring factions of his conscious life so that he becomes "the good soldier" armed with the familiar implements of spiritual warfare to "fight the good fight of faith."

Other innumerable instances of conversion and salvation have followed in the steps of Paul, men finding in their experiences of Christ a transforming power. So remarkable has this history of Christian influence been that men have assumed that Jesus must have been God, and that his personality was miraculous. But in making such assumptions, theologians fail to take into account the subjective powers of worship of an ideal and the integrative influence of giving one's self wholly to what they conceive is perfection. An interesting example of this fallacy of thought is to be found in one of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's famous sermons, "Belief in Christ." He says:

> Who is Christ? You may be puzzled. You may share the uncertainties of your day. You may even fear that time will show that he is just a Jewish teacher of the first century. Very well! Change the question. What has Jesus done? What difference has he made to human life? That is an historic matter. You can get your hands on that. You can state that, and as I sketchily state it the recurring theme of our argument is this: *he must be the kind of person who can do what he has done.**

If we take this to mean that Jesus must have been the kind of person he was because he did the things that he *actually* did in Palestine during his actual life, then no one can quarrel with the statement. But that is not all that is meant. For later Dr. Fosdick says "Wherever the Gospel of Jesus has gone, there men have known that they had access into a great resource of spiritual power." Here we are dealing not merely with what Jesus did, but with the worship and reverence of Jesus. We are dealing with a great body of tradition regarding Jesus. We have to take into account men's idealizations. And the truth is, that while no reasonable person will wish to deny to Jesus all the remarkable personality which he possessed, neither will a reasonable person wish to impute to him all the power which men have derived from their faith in him. Dr. Simkovitch has well expressed this point by saying, "They believed in him, but they believed with *their* faith, not with *his* faith."

The doctrines of the virgin birth, of Jesus' sinlessness, of his resurrection and other theological conceptions of like import are really psychological symbols of the reverence and worship which men have felt down through the ages for the ideal man, and it is the adoration which has wrought the transformations, not the psychological fictions which have been insisted upon as objective realities.

Idols and fetiches ennoble men to experience access of power, but it is not because they possess power. It is because worship of them lifts, integrates on a higher level and provides an escape.

A sunset or a star may actually be very prosaic commonplaces of physics, objectively speaking. But by conceiving of them not simply as dust and refracted light, or as so much inert matter, but as objects of supernal beauty, we bring poems into being and create symphonies on the theme of the music of the spheres.

Thus it is clearly seen that worship is an attitude not dependent upon any particular object, and religion, resting upon this attitude in any or all of its phases, is not to be defined by the object of reverence but by the act and experience. A religious person is one who looks upon life as filled with occasions for worship. He stands in awe of the great powers and influences whether known by the name of God or Christ or the Unknowable. He lifts himself to the level of the highest, he is "loosed of all imaginary limits," is expanded, quickened. His being flows out from inner springs as rivers flow to the sea, and he mingles with the Infinite.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

*Italics by the writer.

## Jottings

Some things are appropriate! One of these is the appointment of Navy Day for October 27th, the birthday of Theodore Roosevelt. In the same way Persecution Day might be properly fixed on Torquemada's birthday, and Slavery Day on the natal festival of Robert Toombs.

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The news of the discovery of the lost books of Livy, referred to editorially in our issue for September 18, page 21, seems to have been a canard. We surmised that "the report may be denied." But it is too bad! This is one of the things that ought to be true.

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The Presbyterians have announced that last year it cost them $457 to save each soul that was brought into the church. This prompts, too, somewhat contradictory questions—(1) first, was it worth it—all this money to bring a soul to Presbyterianism; (2) secondly, is this all a soul is worth? Whichever way you put it, it's a poor way in which to interpret religion.

Which is better—an autobiography *after* a man is dead, or an autobiography *before* a man is dead? Mark Twain and Sherwood Anderson have given us the material for a judgment upon this question. What is the answer?

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From E. M. Forster's "A Passage to India":

> The first person Adela noticed was the humblest of all who were present . . . the man who pulled the punkah. Almost naked, and splendidly formed, he sat on a raised platform near the back. . . . He had the strength and beauty that sometimes comes to flower in Indians of low birth. When that strange race nears the dust and is condemned as untouchable, then nature remembers the physical perfection that she accomplished elsewhere, and throws out a god—not many, but one here and there, to prove to society how little its categories impress her.

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The seventh anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution is at hand—and the Soviet government still stands! Washington papers please copy. J. H. H.

## Effects of the Japanese Exclusion Bill

Through the short sightedness of the American Congress in passing the Exclusion Bill, the work of the Washington Conference has been practically undone. Also the unselfish work of hundreds of people on both sides of the Pacific, who desired friendly relations between Japan and America, has apparently crashed to the ground, and we present the sorry spectacle of the Japanese proverb, "Enkō ga tsuki wo toran to suru ga gotoshi," which may be translated "Like monkeys trying to snatch the moon's reflection on water." *

Yet despite the disappointment and sorrow which is felt by all, it is now necessary to resuscitate ourselves from the apparently drowned condition, and see what yet may be done to redeem the situation.

Previous to the passage of the Johnson Bill various measures had been effected which excluded all other Oriental nations except Japan. With this bill the entire Orient has now been shut out from the United States, and a sharply divided race line has been drawn.

Many Americans argue that the Exclusion Bill is economic and not racial in scope, but such an argument has no foundation upon which to rest, since under the 1890 basis only 146 laborers would be admitted. Furthermore, the classes which under the law now may be admitted, such as students, ministers, professors, and so on, may not remain, but must leave the country immediately the definite work they came to perform is accomplished.

Now that this race line has been established, its natural effect will be to bring into closer and closer relationship the nations of the Orient, and in their resentment at being thus discriminated against by the white nations, may possibly eventually precipitate a race war. Of course, it would take years to bring this about, but that does not make such a war any the less terrible to contemplate. The unfortunate result of the passage of this bill, or any similar wrong political act, is that usually its perpetrators go scot free, and some future generation, accepting the world as it finds it, reaps the deluge. Disarmament conferences may be held, but what does the scrapping of battleships amount to if the antagonistic spirit still prevails? The thing to be destroyed is this antagonistic spirit, which cannot be done in a disarmament conference, any political understandings, or private commercial relations.

This racial discrimination and the antagonistic spirit which it has engendered, are distinctly contrary to the doctrine of Christianity, which teaches equality of man and races, and to love one's neighbor as one's self. They are also against the teachings of Buddhism, which promulgates similar ideas as the Chrisitian religion. In fact, Christians and Buddhists alike have expressed the idea that there can be no peace unless all the nations of the earth put aside racial discrimination, and it is in the teachings of these two religions that we shall find the key to solve our present difficulties.

Until the hearts of the two peoples are united in some common work or purpose, disarmament conferences are of no avail. Before such conferences can be effective, every method to bring about this unity of the people must be tried. One of these is education. The exchange of professors, the giving of Japanese plays in America and vice versa, the exchange of books, art exhibitions, the exchange of drawings and letters between the school children, all of these and many other things of like nature, contribute an important part.

But still another and more effective method in uniting the hearts of the people must be the establishment

*A Buddhist parable relates that a band of monkeys came once to a well with an overhanging tree, and on looking down beheld the reflection of the moon, which they mistook for reality and resolved to possess. The first monkey took hold of the branch of the tree and let himself down, the second clung to the first, the third to the second, and so on. But alas, finally the branch broke under the unaccustomed weight and all the monkeys were drowned.

of friendship and unity between the religions. At the Tokyo Peace Exposition, the Buddhists voiced their earnest desire to essay peace by a conference of all the religions of the world, and America who advocated the Disarmament Conference, should now go further and take the necessary steps to bring this Buddhist idea into fruition. Only by such conferences can the true unity and harmony of all nations be realized. Conferences are educational in their scope. The publicity attending a religious conference or conferences, would—as in the case of the Disarmament Conference—be very enlightening, and would help to dispel that part of racial prejudice based on religious differences. The Christian churches should not teach that the people of another religious faith are inferior. Little children should not be taught in Sunday School to look down on Buddhists and those of other faiths as "heathen" or "idol worshippers," for it raises a barrier in their sub-conscious minds against friendship with such believers that it is difficult to overcome in mature years.

A working plan should be devised and agreed upon by all the religions in conference, which could be taken home and all the people set to work. There must be no longer indifference on the part of any Japanese. There must be no longer indifference on the part of any American. It is only by dint of hard work on the part of all, each bearing his share of the burden, that all the nations of the world can be brought together into peace and happiness. "Allah has instilled into the hearts of all mankind the desire for happiness, but it must be earned."

*Japan Society of Boston.* J. M. SHERWOOD.

# With the Peacemakers on Lac Leman

I.

The great hall called the Salle de Reformation—the name is surely prophetic—where on Saturday afternoon, Sept. 6, a simple Christian man who first saw the light in a fisherman's cottage and has since been the Prime Minister of Great Britain, spoke not in smooth diplomatic sentences, but in a voice that first thrilled with emotion and then thundered denunciation of previous inaction, awoke the conscience of his 1,000 hearers to their duty. Yes! to their duty, and that of every one who calls Christ master, of every one who hears the voice of God under any other name, works for the abolition of war. It was deep calling to deep—it was heart beating to heart—the common heart of humanity—that wave of genuine emotion that swept through the Assembly of the Fifth League of Nations as Ramsey MacDonald spoke. No flight of mere eloquence was this—no sophistry of argument. Those who watched the speaker earlier in the meeting noted the nervous movements of his hands—felt the tenseness of his mood, feared almost for him that here was another like Woodrow Wilson too high strung, too sensitive, too fine to be understood and followed by more material minds. Many in his spell-bound audience felt this, many, I think, and surely all the Quakers were praying for him. I felt the need of strengthening; I joined my prayer with theirs and prayers prevailed. It was no dreamer, no mere idealist but a man of action who addressed the assembly "as one having authority" and his hearers responded—the Prime Minister of France responded—the delegates of 46 nations responded—they passed unanimously a resolution to prepare for a World Conference on Disarmament. A new spirit came over the League of Nations—a desire for action, to justify the existence—it woke to life!

II.

The Friends meeting at Geneva—a quiet room in the old quarter of the city, a sunny Sunday morning—the sunshine playing hide and seek with the vine leaves that framed the window and giving radiance to the crimson gladioli in the vase that stood on the table.

Around the room some thirty men and women, young and old, of various nations, sat in contemplation waiting for the "still small voice!" They were mostly English but also French Swiss were among them and one German Swiss who will ever count it a privilege to have been at that Quaker meeting. He is the President of the Zurich branch of the League of Nations Union. He is not an imaginative man, he is a practical lawyer but he spoke of Ramsey MacDonald to me afterwards as "a Messiah." Beside him sat a famous English M. P. who is a leader in pacifist circles. A friend who has devoted years to relief work in Germany was among those moved "to give a message." More women spoke than men—some in French—most in English—among them she who has founded and guides the destinies of the first Fellowship School in the world on Lac Leman. We all joined in prayer for the purification of the peace. We listened to one who warned us that because we had been for a moment caught up into heaven at the Assembly the previous afternoon, because we had been privileged to feel the inspiration of an historic moment in the League of Nations we must not think that the Kingdom of God had already come!

There were mountains of difficulty in the way—but some one who had observed the gradual destruction of the mountains by the forces of nature—the wearing away of rocks by water courses, avalanches, gave us comfort through this illustration—in God's good time the mountains will be brought low.

So in quiet confidence we valued the coming of the Kingdom and so the Friends meeting carried on the work of hastening the coming.

III.

A school whose law is Liberty—whose spirit is Love—this was the ideal that created the Fellowship School at Gland on the smiling shores of the Lake of Geneva.

Just here its green banks with their spreading trees, grassy glades between the woodland recall the English lakes; but beyond are the mountains—the Alps—pointing heavenwards, giving their message, "I will lift up mine eyes toward the hills, from thence cometh my strength."

Those who work for world peace in the Fellowship School must often need that message! It is not an easy task to weld children of widely different upbringing and station and of many different nations into one harmonious household. It needs strong nerves at first to stand the noise of youth freed from restraint; it needs infinite patience to wait till goodness from fear of punishment has been replaced by the goodness of free will. There is an intermediate stage which is trying I am told; but the boys and girls I saw seemed

to have passed through it. It was holiday time—no home but lots of household tasks, for new buildings have been added. Furniture had to be moved from the old kitchen to the new, cleaning to be done after the workmen finished. Children and teachers called "Motoe" all gladly took part. The same with the cooking and cleaning the dishes. Many hands helped, many voices chatted in English, French and German and amid this Babel the work was quickly and gladly done.

At our simple vegetarian meal the gardener in his blue smock, an old man with bent back and white locks, as well as the cook sat side by side with pupils of aristocratic birth. No one waited; we all fetched for ourselves and each other and we ate with a relish many would envy. Grace before meals was a moment of silence—the Quaker prayer!

And the door stood open by night and by day for the Quaker trusts in God's protection—not in bolts and locks. There are children growing up on the shores of Lac Leman to carry on our work when we pass on—to be the Peacemakers of the Future—the citizens of the coming Kingdom of God.

*Geneva, Switzerland.* MAUD M. HOLBACH.

# Wisconsin Congregationalists Declare for the Outlawry of War

The following memorial and resolution were presented to the Wisconsin Annual Congregational Conference at Beloit Oct. 8, 1924, by John Faville of Lake Mills, Wisconsin. The resolution with others offered by the Resolutions Committee was adopted by a practically unanimous vote.

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Four well defined streams of thought and effort are among us concerning War and Peace.

I. PREPAREDNESS

Here the emphasis is on war and over dangers from it. Wars are bound to come and we must get ready for them. We want peace. We may sometime have more of it than the past has had, but now our duty is to keep in first class fighting trim, in order to defend ourselves in possible and probable future wars. This may be called the stream of militarism.

II. COMPROMISE

The legality of war is not challenged, but we must lessen and alleviate its evils; hoping in the end to bring peace. The emphasis is on more disarmament and arbitration and authority in world courts and international law; less use of airships, bombs, poison gas, etc. Cut off or trim these branches of the war tree that bear the worst fruit and we will finally kill the tree itself.

The Hague Conferences, the League of Nations, and its court, and much of the past discussions of war and peace, with all their good intent and helpfulness, are a compromise with the war system.

III. EVOLUTIONARY

Here there is an advance in thought and action concerning war itself.

Aggressive wars between nations are branded as wrong. The institution of war must eventually be abolished; but decades, it may be generations, will be needed to do this. In the slow processes of religion, education, and the study of causes, is our hope. The need of jurists, statesmen, diplomats, and rulers, and war as an affair of government, is stressed. The "Draft Treaty," while in its preamble it seems to compromise with war in saying, "Being desirous of promoting Peace and of lessening the dangers of War, by reduction and limitation of armaments," yet in its first article it declares that "Aggressive war is an international crime."

Many church resolutions and conclusions are also in this current.

IV. ETHICAL REVOLUTIONARY OR OUTLAWRY

Here war itself is made a world moral issue. The right of the war system to be, is denied. The reliance of Outlawry is not first on governments or diplomats, Leagues or Courts, but on the people of the world. It believes a world crisis is on us, and that civilized nations must interpret the command, "Thou shalt not kill," as imperative on all nations; that we have reached a place in human history when this overwhelming curse can no longer be compromised or temporized with. It calls for a revolution in the attitude and the action of nations toward this age-long and world-wide way of settling controversies.

Outlawry is both a principle and a plan. It is a mind attitude and a program; a moral purpose and a method.

It finds that war is now a legal affair, intrenched in international codes and courts and customs, a part of the creed of every nation. No nation has ever yet declared war to be a crime or the nation engaging in it a criminal. No Conference or Court or Tribunal or Treaty of nations has ever been built on the law—"Thou shalt not kill each other as nations."

Outlawry is a new, definite, practical plan, not to alleviate or lessen wars, but to *kill war!*

Its program is, first a crusade, a mobilization, a decision, by the people, to outlaw and abolish the war method. Then the codification of international laws in harmony with this decision. Then a world court, modeled largely after our Supreme Court, with affirmative jurisdiction.

Outlawry does not expect that all will yet agree as to the causes of war. It asks for co-operation against the thing itself. It does not assail what has been.

Moral judgments for or against past wars are not the vital concern of this plan.

Controversy on militarism and pacifism, the right of the State and of the individual conscience, is absorbed in the one aim and effort to make future wars impossible. Outlawry holds that when there is the self defense of one nation against another in actual or immanent attack, that this is not war any more than individual killing in self defense is murder.

Outlawry does not attempt to dictate as to the present increase or limitation of armaments. It knows we still live under a war system. It hails all existing efforts of courts and codes toward world peace, but it asserts that no Conference or World Court or League can successfully cope with the world's peace problem, till wars between nations are made illegal. A legal recourse to war means we will always be on the verge of it. Outlawry says "Disarmament will not cause the ceasing of wars, but the ceasing of war will bring about disarmament."

Here is the most hopeful, significant, practical stream of thought and action, on war, coursing through our

nation today. Outlawry is being discussed and resolved upon by the people more than any or all other plans.

The Christian Church is moving toward it with no uncertain step.

We, as Congregational Churches, cannot meet the demand of our day on war if we do not do our part to help enlighten the people and concentrate the moral and religious forces of our nation, and of all nations, on this plan.

### Resolution

As followers of the Prince of Peace, we declare our firm and increasing determination to create the conditions of world peace.

We believe our country to be in far greater danger from war itself than from invasion by any hostile nation. We believe the prevention of war to be the greatest moral and political issue before the country, although all political parties are evading it.

Grateful to our government for leadership in the movement toward reduction of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration, we insist on a still more decided and aggressive policy in these directions. We urge the immediate entrance of the United States into the permanent court of justice, and our entrance into the League of Nations with such adaptation as the American people may deem imperative in the expectation that this will give men of good will an adequate instrument for securing and maintaining world peace. We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance and shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitude on the part of those who represent us.

It is our conviction and decision that in international relations nations shall change from laws and rules and sanctions of and for war to organic laws against war; that war as a way of settling disputes between nations be made a crime under the laws of nations and the war system of the world be outlawed and abolished.

We urgently recommend to our Congregational Education Society the preparation and introduction of lessons on world peace, to be a part of our religious instruction. Furthermore, we recommend to our state board of education that textbooks shall be prepared for use in our public schools which shall exalt the arts and achievements of peace more than those of war.

We affirm our patriotism unqualifiedly, but we are resolved to support no war in the future solely because of the dictum of the state. We must demand also that the Christian conscience shall be able to find no other alternative under the circumstances.

## What Is the Answer?

War is the product of the legal institution, organized and maintained in every nation of the earth. It is just as legal as marriage or the home, and is the only method for compelling a settlement of disputes between the nations of the earth.

So long as the war system remains a legal institution we will have wars.

What is the answer? Is there no escape from war? Is this, after all, a Devil's world? Must the nations of the earth every so often engage in wholesale slaughter of their finest youth and destruction of the fruits of the patient thrift and toilsome labor of long years? Must civilization finally commit suicide? Is humanity doomed and Christianity an iridescent dream?

Humanity is not helpless—this is God's world! We can outlaw this war system just as we outlawed slavery and the saloon. We can make war a crime under the law of nations, and substitute law for war in compelling the settlement of international disputes. Human society has overthrown other powerful legal institutions that had grown to be a menace to human welfare. Piracy, the international slave trade, the *code duello,* the slave system, the liquor traffic—all were legal institutions, all were old as history—all have been outlawed and their exercise made a public crime, in the progress of mankind from barbarism up to liberty and security under law. The history of civilization in the structure of social control has been the history of the invasion of the realms of force and violence by public law.

*The Christian Register.* —*Raymond Robbins.*

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### AN ACOLYTE.

In the Si Tao Gan Dzi Nunnery
Each old nun has an acolyte
To walk with her when she goes out.
"Oldest One" is small and withered.
Her eyes are dull and incurious.
She has looked too long at the play of Life
On her own small stage.
She finds no interest in other actors and scenes.

She carries black beads worn smooth
By the habitual caress of her thin fingers.
One gleam of color hangs in a golden tassel
From her rosary.
Her robe is grey and her shoes are grey.
And the hint of stubbly hair
On her shaven head is grey.
But her face is the greyest of all.

Her acolyte is very young
And her face is warm with life.
Because she must not leave the Mother nun
She walks slowly.
It is not easy for her to take measured steps.
She should run in the sunshine.
It is not naturally that she is quiet.
She should laugh aloud.
The street is thrilling to her.
The Mother nun says it must not be,
But the acolyte is very young.

One day I smiled at her.
And then a mask of grey reserve
Covered her living eyes and childish mouth
Like a curtain of smoke over flame.
After that I always smiled at her.
The Mother nun did not see me at all.
The child nun's eyes never missed me.
One day with a frightened look
At the "Oldest One" and her beads,
With a quick upward look at me, she smiled.
Her eyes smiled with her lips.
She was very lovely and colorful and young.

Dorothy Rowe.

# Anatole France: A Tribute

Anatole France was one of the cheering signs of the times. It is a time of great darkness in which we live, and has been since 1870. A time of materialism and mammon-worship. Men today do not love the truth. They hate it. They hate it in religion, in politics, in business. Men do not believe any more in their fellow men. Every man looks with suspicion upon every other man, every man's hand seems turned against his brother. So it seems to us all in our darker, more pessimistic hours. But this is all a seeming. The fact is that there has seldom been a time in the history of the human spirit on this earth when there were so many sure signs of hope and promise as today. And among these signs we may count men like Anatole France, this great lover of the truth, this great believer in his fellow men, this great defender of human rights.

Your truly great man is one who gathers up into his own big soul all that is finest and best in the past and who also sees all that is finest and best in the aspirations of his own day and generation. He is always a conservative in that he does see and seek to preserve all that is right and beautiful in the past. He is also a prophet who foresees what is the next step in human progress and seeks to lead the people forward. His critics, some of them, call Anatole France a conservative, others call him a radical. He was neither. He was just an open-minded, fair-minded seeker after the truth in all policies and ready to move in the direction of truth and justice under whatever party-banner.

Some say he was an incurable optimist, others that he was an incurable pessimist. He was neither. He was just a far-seeing, kindly man who saw human nature as it is, weeping over its follies and stupidities, and praising it for its moments of grandeur. Some of his critics claim he was a snob, praising the world's great men but looking down with contempt upon the masses of men. He did nothing of the sort. He was just a seeker after greatness wherever he should find it among us humans. Being open-minded, he did see that the great men do stand out and leave the imprint of their spirit indelibly upon their generation and he sought to keep their memory green in the hearts of all his fellow men. But he also believed in the masses, the great commons of the earth; and he could see, underneath all our follies and stupidities, a real nobility of soul, a nobility which is in every man, even the least, and which does respond whenever a great man arises to show the masses the way to wisdom and justice.

Anatole France, great lover of the truth; Anatole France, the fair-minded, the open-hearted; Anatole France, believer in his fellow men, with gentle humor seeing our weaknesses, with infinite patience turning the halt and the lame and the blind among us back into the right path, with great compassion weeping over our follies and weaknesses, with unfaltering faith hoping and expecting the best of human nature, with invincible courage fighting for the new day—Anatole France, we salute you! —*Frank C. Doan.*

## THE STUDY TABLE

### A Book for Liberal Jews—and Others

This book* should properly be reviewed not by a Gentile but by a Jew. "Many books have been written *on* Liberal Judaism, this is written *at* Liberal Jews," says the jacket. The barb was aimed true, shot swift and sure, and now quivers in the bull's-eye of the target. It is the Jew who should tell how it feels, and what he thinks of the whole exploit. Yet as one who has warmest sympathy with the Jews, associates with them constantly, and cherishes so many of them as precious and dearly beloved friends, we may perhaps be regarded not as an intruder if we say a word about this gallant book.

Let us declare at once that the volume is well written, presenting a sustained argument with beautiful precision of form and expression. We happen to know that the author is a very young man, and are therefore touched with admiration, not to say amazement, at the restraint displayed throughout. It is the prerogative of youth to exaggerate, to press a point, to slop over, to wax eloquent—the very intensity of fresh enthusiasm leads to excess. But Mr. Wise has fallen victim to none of these venial faults. His self-control would do credit to one twice his years.

Nor is this excellent moderation secured at the expense of conviction. The author has the confidence of youth, and presents his indictment without a word of apology or equivocation. "The fundamental attitude of Liberal Judaism," he says in italics (page 47), "is wrong." He develops this attack under three main heads. (1) The Liberals are dogmatic, presenting such ideas as God and immortality with a certitude and finality not justified by knowledge. "These are matters which . . . concern every one of us. But they are *not* matters upon which we can speak with certainty, and surely not dogmatically." (2) The Liberal Jews are reactionary, returning to the past for guidance in ethical and spiritual matters which need illumination in the present. "No past, however glorious, can serve as the key to the future. Present problems can only be intelligently solved by decisions fashioned under the impact of contemporaneous forces . . ." (3) Lastly, the Liberal Jews are guilty of "moral standardization and ethical uniformity." They aim to establish an external norm of thought and conduct, instead of trying "to stimulate each individual to think through and solve his own problems for himself."

To this general indictment, the author adds particularizations. He throws into the ash-heap the historic and traditional "mission of Israel," calls for a type of religious education strange to the synagogues; pleads frankly and persuasively for intermarriage; and asks for the acceptance of Jesus as a leader of Israel. A final chapter, "Postscript," shows that the book, before its publication, had come under the fire of criticism. But the author yields not an inch of ground. He proposes to see this thing through.

What the Jews think of this book, they may be trusted to say for themselves. Our reaction is that of one who is interested not in Judaism nor yet in Christianity *per se,* but in religion, and indeed in all the movement of the human spirit. From this standpoint,

* "Liberalizing Liberal Judaism," by James Waterman Wise. Published by Macmillan, 1924.

the book, while belonging peculiarly to Judaism, has a significance which transcends the bounds of this people. What we have here is a revelation of the fate which befalls all liberal movements—the hardening of the arteries of the new spirit into one more orthodoxy to clutter up the pathway of human progress. What Mr. Wise says here of Liberal Judaism can be said with equal truth of Unitarianism. It can be said with the same truth of movements altogether outside the religious field, as in politics, culture, and society at large. The liberalism of yesterday is the orthodoxy of today—which means that a new liberalism of revolt and protest must be proclaimed if life is not to end. It is this new liberalism which Mr. Wise presents. He is attempting today what the leaders of Liberal Judaism attempted in the beginning. Thus does he enter into the prophetic succession. Whether his ideas are sound or unsound in detail, is unimportant. We think them magnificently sound, and wish with all our heart that Liberal Judaism may welcome them. But whether or no, the spirit is the great thing. The spirit of this book is the spirit which has made Israel great, and is fresh witness of the incalculable debt which humanity owes to this mighty people.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

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## The Great Lie

Another volume* here adds its testimony to that veritable cloud of witnesses arisen since the war to refute and condemn the criminal falsehoods which served to drag our people into the conflict and feed the flames of international hatred. It is almost useless to waste time on the many people in Great Britain, who neither read, nor want to read, anything outside the daily newspapers, or believe that the war utterances of Professor Gilbert Murray or Sir Harry Lauder are final and adequate judgments on Germany's guilt; but for those who have ears to hear and minds to reason the present volume offers a conclusive refutation of the great central falsehood of the war and the peace. From the military convention between France and Russia in 1892, with its detailed plans for "the destruction of the German Army," down to the later dispatches and Protocols of 1911-12-13, the deliberate preparation on the part of France for a war of revenge on Germany is proved by evidence varied, cumulative, and irresistible. Never again can the myth of an innocent and "unprepared" France find a place in the pages of serious history.

Milliards of French francs found their way into Russia in order to multiply her strategic lines of railway towards the frontier, milliards more to equip Russia's war factories and arm her troops—financial help which, as the author bitterly adds, "was paid for in the life-blood of millions of my countrymen." As early as 1911 General Dubail in a Protocol drawn up by the General Staffs of the two nations states that the concentration of the French army can be as rapid as that of the German, everything can be ready by the twelfth day, when "the forward movement of the French against Germany would commence, *supported by the English army on their left wing.*" Not a word here of uncertainty, of any dependence upon discussion or agreement in the British Parliament or even Cabinet—all is in order for the fulfilment of what Lloyd George indiscreetly but truly described as "our pact with France." Well might two Cabinet Ministers of 1914 say to the writer of this review: "We were lied to in the Cabinet itself."

The brutal cynicism of the Tsarist Government—to which a "Liberal" Cabinet saw fit to ally this country—is revealed in page after page of these memoirs. In January, 1914, the Tsar and his ministers are busy with the plans for seizing Turkish coast towns, without any pretext, dispatching cruisers through the Bosphorous (under the conviction that the Turkish batteries would not dare to fire on the Russian flag), and mobilising a strong landing corps at Odessa for the occupation of Constantinople. Poincairé promised support to this international outrage—*Il est bien entendu que nous vous soutiendrons.* Yet despite these military projects and the declaration of the Russian Press—*"Russland ist fertig, Frankreich muss ebenfalls fertig sein"*—and the paper strength of Russia's immense army, Sucholmlinow admits the appalling corruption and inefficiency which sent Russian peasants by the million to be slaughtered on the western fronts without adequate equipment, ammunition, or even enough rifles to go round! To the author the evil genius mainly responsible for Russia's unpreparedness, and all the unspeakable calamities which followed, was the Grand Duke Nicholas.

One passage in these memoirs is of special interest to ourselves. The 1914 mystery of the "Russian troops in England" story is explained at last! Sir George Buchanan, our Ambassador, actually requested from Sucholmlinow the dispatch of "a complete Russian army corps" to England for "the defense of London"! English ships were to be brought to Archangel for the transport of these troops. The Russian General Staff came to the conclusion that "Buchanan had lost his reason," but in order to humour the Ambassador they offered him a regiment of veteran grey-beard Cossacks from the Don—an offer which he declined. The author asks with reason—how could anyone expect war to be averted when Ambassadors of the character and capacity of Buchanan and Paléologue were sent to represent Great European Powers?

Of Lenin, to whose clemency he owes his release from the prison to which the Tsarist Government had sent him, Sucholmlinow has several interesting things to say. It was, he tells us, the powerful speeches of Lenin in April, 1917, and his cry of "Peace with Germany and war against the Capitalism of the Entente," which began to open the eyes of thousands of Russian patriots, and especially the "young officer corps," to the fact that the Russian soldiers were being "used up as cannon-fodder for the Entente," and "sacrificed for the selfish interests of France." And despite his political dislike of Soviet principles, it was nevertheless to Lenin that the old soldier looked in the evening of his days for the healing of Russia's many wounds and the restoration of her former greatness.

*Foreign Affairs (London).* —*E. N. Bennett.*

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The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath.

Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall always fail to realize it, but we should never cease to strive for it.

—*Gandhi.*

* "The Memoirs of General Sucholmlinow" (German Version). "W. A. Sucholmlinow Erinnerungen." Verlag von Reinar Hobbing, Berlin, pp. 526.)

# CORRESPONDENCE

## RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA

(A Letter from our Russian Correspondent)

Dear Mr. Holmes:

. . . At present I am happy to enjoy the company of Mr. Hecker, who has just come from Moscow where a church conference was held. The division in the orthodox church is still growing and we do not see the end of it. At the same time we are hopeful to see the birth of a uniting movement. Of course your penetrating mind knew a long time ago that this and only this is the solution of the question in the United States, where the churches are so numerous. We here have a more particular reason for standing for the community church movement as we must make efforts to save the only existing church, divided, struggling and shattered. Mr. Hecker has in mind the organization of "The Working Brotherhood," uniting all on the same basis as your Community Church. . . The hope of taking part in the movement gives me new wings. I know these few lines will fill you with real joy.

You probably know that lately a Theological Academy was opened in Moscow, and a series of Theological Institutes in Leningrad, Kief, Odessa and Krasnodar. They are going to be the cradles of the new kind of orthodox clergy. Mr. Hecker is playing a prominent part in the movement, giving a course in Christian Ethics in the Moscow Academy and editing an impartial religious paper, "The Christian" . . .

*Yalta, Crimea.* ALINA HUEBSCH.

[We ask the very particular attention of our readers to this letter written for personal perusal, without thought of publication. We are printing it as impressive confirmation of what UNITY has been saying about religion in Russia, and, in the same way, as impressive refutation of the stories of Bolshevik suppression of religious activities.—J. H. H.]

October 13, 1924.

## A GOOD FIGHT

Editor of UNITY:

Thinking that it might be of some interest to you, I am enclosing a copy of the letter to the members of the House of Bishops which went forward on Monday, last, in time to be received by them as they reached the metropolis for a meeting of the House.

With every good wish for the UNITY and those to whom we are indebted for it, I am,

Very cordially and gratefully yours,

WM. M. BROWN.

[The letter enclosed has been widely printed in the public press. It is an able statement of the Bishop's case, and a devastating review of the action of the trial court. We rejoice at the way in which Bishop Brown is "fighting the good fight."—Ed.]

## LONGFELLOW ON WAR

To the Editor of UNITY:

Chaplain John T. Axton, chief of chaplains of the United States army, preached a sermon in Washington on a Sunday just before Defense day, widely reported in the papers, in which he warmly defended the demonstration and the war system generally by appeal to Scripture. Moses had said, "The Lord is a Man of War," and so, clear through to Christ's "strong man armed"; then Cromwell's "Trust in God and keep your powder dry"; and then this climax: "Longfellow, whose songs are of the heart and of the home, and whose gentle utterances suggest the fireside and the Arcadian (sic) simplicity portrayed in his own beautiful 'Evangeline,' says:—

"War is a terrible trade,
But, in a righteous cause
Sweet is the smell of powder."

In all my experience with quotation, this deserves the primacy. It is like quoting some word from Iago as the judgment of Shakespeare. The words Chaplain Axton is attempting to quote are, of course, from "The Courtship of Miles Standish." Standish, in stirring up a warlike spirit against the Indians, is made to say:—

"Truly the only tongue that is understood by the savage
Must be the tongue of fire that speaks from the mouth of the cannon."

To this the Elder of Plymouth replies:—

"Not so, thought Saint Paul, nor yet the other apostles;
Not from the cannon's mouth were the tongues of fire they spoke with."

Then it is that the soldier, unheeding the rebuke, cries:—

"War is a terrible trade; but in the cause that is righteous
Sweet is the smell of powder, and thus I answer the challenge."

It is perfectly clear that Longfellow does not put these words into the mouth of Standish by way of approval, but that the sentiment expressed by Elder Brewster in the poem is his own sentiment. It is in exact accord, of course, with "The Arsenal at Springfield" with those sublime closing lines:—

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

## ATTY. GENERAL HARLAN F. STONE

Editor of UNITY:

The post-war espionage and illegal persecution of all who are supposed to hold unconventional views is beginning to wane. It is interesting to observe that Atty. General Stone, besides ridding himself of Wm. J. Burns, who with Daugherty had continued the war-espionage for years, has abolished the whole system of espionage. All the anti-socialist and anti-radical work of the Bureau of Investigation comes to an end. For years, certain "patriotic societies" have been ferreting out all citizens who did not have their special brand of "patriotism" and have been trying to ruin their reputations and influence. Atty. General Daugherty and his bureau were their support. Atty. General Stone now denies them information for uses against their neighbors.

Over sixty employees of the Department of Justice have been dropped. Lawyers are replacing detectives and will recognize the legal rights of citizens. Dollar-a-year men are no more in Mr. Stone's office. The American Defense Society and the men and women who misrepresented and tried to prevent the holding of the biennial congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and their summer school at the University of Chicago, last May are no longer to turn to the spies of the Department of Justice to get material for their work. There are to be no more dictagraphs put in offices and houses. The private offices and desks of United States Senators will now be safe. There are to be no more illegal searches without warrant. There are to be no more tapping of telephone and telegraph wires and no more provocative agents *a la Russe*.

Thank President Coolidge, whatever be our varying views in party politics, for putting a man in the Attorney General's chair of a very different caliber and character from the one who was tolerated three years too long.

*Boston, Mass.* LOTHROP LORING.

## FROM A FRIEND IN GERMANY

Editor of UNITY:

I have been a subscriber to UNITY for several years, and a great admirer of the sturdy thought and frankly expressed truths of your publication.

I have been particularly interested in the articles written about Germany; but frankly say that I have never believed they adequately described her present pitiful condition.

I am staying in a primitive little Bavarian village on Lake Constance, living with German relatives, so that I *know* something about the deprivations of the class that has principally suffered in peace times, more than in war times perhaps—the middle class, including professors' families and the people living formerly quite comfortably on modest incomes.

(Dr.) MYRA D. ALLEN RUPPEL.

*Wasserburg am Bodensee, Bavaria, Germany.*

## THEIR SONGS

One made a song, and that it might not pass
He 'graved it then upon a sheet of brass.

Another poet, jealous for his own,
Carved his singing words deep in polished stone.

A third, too wise to ever touch a pen,
Wrote undying songs upon the hearts of men!

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

## THE FIELD

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### ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE FRIDAY MORNING FORUM

**November 7.—Frederick Starr**

**IMMEDIATE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE**

Because the Philippine question will not down, Professor Starr has developed a series of Philippine lectures, which for the Forum, will be covered in substance in one meeting.

**November 14.—Matilde Castro Tufts, Formerly Professor of Education in Bryn Mawr University**

**THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION**

Mrs. Tufts is an authority on various phases of Education and a well-known lecturer.

**November 21.—Louis L. Mann, Rabbi Chicago Sinai Congregation**

**WHAT THE DISBELIEVER BELIEVES**

Dr. Mann, the successor to Dr. E. G. Hirsch at Sinai Congregation, is Vice-Chancellor of the Jewish Chautauqua Society, a Contributing Editor of UNITY, Chairman Religious Education, Central Conference of American Rabbis, until recently lecturer on Comparative Ethics, Yale University, and is Professional Lecturer Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of Chicago.

**November 28.—No Meeting**

**December 5.—A. Emil Davies, Practical Economist and Publicist**

**PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE**

Mr. Davis is on the executive boards of a score or more of British organizations, connected with modern developments, ranging from garden cities to dramatic leagues, and numbers among his friends most of the leading writers and personalities of Britain. He is Honorary Lecturer on Business Finance at the University of Leeds, and is a brilliant and powerful speaker. Mr. Davies has a message to deliver to American audiences on the responsibility and opportunities which will come to the United States as a result of the passing of economic power from Europe to America.

## AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The demands on us for practical daily service continue without let-up. But we are glad to report that the number of prosecutions and deportations has steadily decreased, that there are fewer state political prisoners than at any time in recent years (106 now as compared with 121 last May), and that the number of cases of mob violence and lynching has very greatly fallen off. Local police interference with meetings and with strikers' rights continues in many parts of the country—and the persecution of I. W. W.'s in California goes steadily on.

Much of this improvement is doubtless due to the presidential campaign year, and to the political opportunity for liberal and radical forces to express themselves more effectively than at any time in recent years. The Daugherty investigation cleared the atmosphere greatly. Since his retirement and the resignation of William J. Burns, the Department of Justice has stopped the anti-radical propaganda and incitement of prosecutions which characterized their regime. Under Attorney-General Stone their policies have been practically reversed. The patrioteering societies have lost their chief source of inspiration, and are making very little trouble.

Here is the way things stand at present on the chief aspects of civil liberty as they come to us:

1. **Political prisoners and court cases:**

**Federal.** There is only one federal political prisoner still held. He is a military prisoner, Antoni Karachun, a Russian alien convicted for deserting from the American forces in Siberia. We are plugging away on his release. We are working on the restoration of citizenship to all ex-political prisoners, the removal of conditions attached to some of the commutations and termination of a number of paroles.

**State.** All of the 106 state political prisoners are I. W. W.'s. Not a single communist, anarchist or socialist is in prison on political or industrial charges. Several communists stand convicted in the courts, where their cases are all on appeal. Most important are the appeals to the U. S. Supreme Court of Benjamin Gitlow from New York and Charlotte Anita Whitney from California. These appeals will probably determine the fate of the criminal syndicalist and sedition laws throughout the country. The appeal in the case of Charles E. Ruthenberg will be argued before the Michigan Supreme Court this month.

California continues to be the seat of prosecution against the I. W. W. Ninety-four men are in prison and 18 cases are pending in the courts. There are 12 political prisoners (all I. W. W.'s) in six other states. Active efforts are being made to secure the release of all of them. There are in addition the industrial prisoners in the Centralia Armistice Day case; Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, Richard Ford and Herman Suhr in California; and Charles Cline and J. M. Rangel in Texas. The Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts will now move on to the State Supreme Court following the trial judge's denial of a new trial.

2. **Laws:** Our legislative work this year covers:

**In Congress:** A bill to establish a civil form of government in the Virgin Islands to replace Navy Department rule. Repeal of the censorship powers lodged in the Post-Office Department.

**State legislation:** A campaign in thirty-four legislatures to repeal criminal syndicalism and sedition laws,—provided they are not knocked out by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Gitlow case.

3. **Local Free-Speech Work:**

We are conducting an extensive agitation in non-union coal-mining districts for incorporation of company-owned towns, abolition of privately paid sheriffs and anti-union contracts.

Efforts against police restrictions on meetings and speakers have been undertaken in Boston, Mass., Philadelphia, Paterson, N. J., Old Forge, and McKeesport, Pa.

But most important of all our work now is a **general propaganda campaign** for civil liberty, which will open up in full after the election. We believe that the time has come to enlist all organizations dealing with public matters, ministers, public officials, lawyers and others, in a general movement for tolerance and against repression. We can get off the defensive on to aggressive ground. Early in the year we expect to conduct a series of speaking tours in the heart of Ku Klux Klan territory aimed against the Klan's intolerance and lawlessness. We are stimulating debates in the schools and colleges on free-speech subjects and helping to get out a debater's handbook on free speech. We have also just established a Committee on Academic Freedom to handle cases arising in schools and colleges, particularly those concerning interference with students' liberal and radical activities.

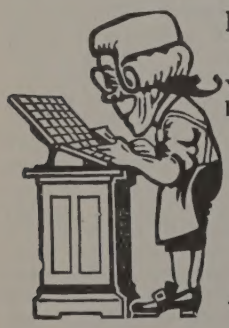
Our financial situation is not as good as it was a year ago. A number of contributors have not renewed, and new contributors have not offset those losses. **We are therefore asking each one of our friends who is not now contributing as much as $10.00 a year and who is able to do so, to come in on the plan which we submitted to you over a year ago; namely, to line up 2,000 members at $10.00 a year.** That will carry our budget, which remains fixed at $20,000. We have only 510 such members at present. **We must increase that number now. If you or any friends can help do so, we will greatly appreciate it. This job can be carried on only by the loyal co-operation of every one of its friends.**

We regret to announce the resignation of Albert DeSilver as associate director, in order to devote his time wholly to private study. He remains a member of the National Committee, and will continue to aid as actively as his time permits. He has freely given his services to the cause of civil liberty for six years,—as an attorney, an executive, a large contributor, and as trustee of the National Bail Fund, with which he will continue his active service. Sincerely yours,

*John Haynes Holmes*, Acting Chairman,
*Helen Phelps Stokes*, Treasurer,
*Roger N. Baldwin*, Director.

## CATHOLIC PEACE MOVEMENT

*The Fourth International Catholic Peace Congress*, organized by the International Catholic League "Ika," met at Lugano, Switzerland, August 15-20. Two hundred and fifty Catholics, clergy and lay, from twenty countries, representing some forty Catholic Peace organizations, were present. The Bishop of Lugano presided at the opening session and the chair was taken later by Dr. Waiz, Bishop of Tyrol and Vorarlberg. Greetings of encouragement were received from Cardinals and Bishops in seven countries. At the opening session a message was read conveying to the Congress the blessing of the Holy Father. The purpose of the Congress was two-fold: to deepen and strengthen the spiritual and intellectual foundation of Catholic peace work, and to work out practical problems of method and organization. Italian and French speakers expounded the Catholic doctrine of universal human love as opposed to the anti-Christian doctrine of nationalism. The importance of ritual and religious observance as a means of drawing upon the sources of spiritual power was emphasized, and mention was made of the Franco-German Eucharistic Sunday, consisting in a monthly peace communion celebrated simultaneously in both countries. Other problems dealt with were: the limits of State sovereignty, Catholic work for the League of Nations, International Labor legislation, home and school education and the institution of a Catholic Press Agency, Esperanto, etc.

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